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# CURRENT INTELLIGENCE WEEKLY SUMMARY



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### CONGO

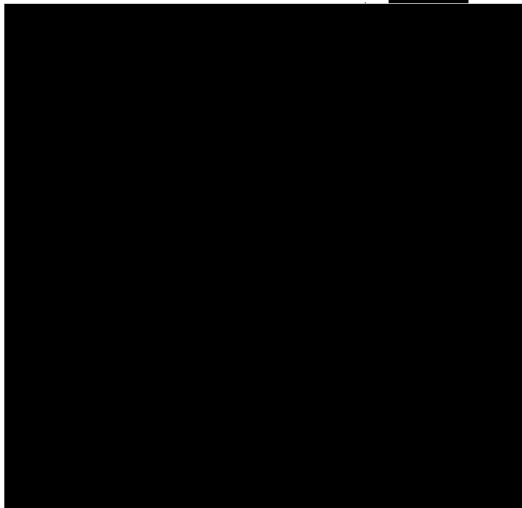
With the breakoff of his third round of talks with Katanga's Tshombé, Congolese Premier Adoula has indicated his bewilderment over what to do next. He told the US ambassador last week that Tshombé's idea of a settlement was completely different from his own and that he was "not going to have any more to do with it."

Adoula's frustrations arise out of the fact that he has neither forces nor finances to use against Tshombé, while the Katangan leader still has a 12,000-man, European-led gendarmerie and the tax revenues from the Belgian mining operations. The Congolese Army (ANC) is over twice as large as Tshombé's, but it continues to be undisciplined, without experienced leadership or sense of strategy, and utterly primitive in its logistics. UN efforts to retrain it have never gotten under way.

Adoula thus has been forced to depend on the multinational UN Command, whose actions are determined not in Leopoldville but in New York and which is subjected to a variety of international pressures. UN forces in two battles with the Katangans were bested in the first round by superior military capabilities; in the second, they were denied full victory by an international outcry against the fighting and Tshombé's announcement that he was willing to negotiate. Since then Tshombé has been assiduously cultivating international opinion favorable to Katanga, and UN military action against him has become an increasingly difficult step for the UN to take.

The predictably fatal effect on Adoula's leadership of continued failure in Katanga and the deepening economic crisis both in the Congo and in the UN lead even oppo-

nents of strong action like the British to admit that something must be done, but no consensus has appeared. [REDACTED]



[REDACTED] believes that the next effort should be to convene the joint commissions agreed to by Adoula and Tshombé, after which the two leaders should meet again. If nothing comes of this, Bunche has said, the secretary general would present the problem to the UN's Congo Advisory Committee and tell it the time has come for economic sanctions, e.g., moves by the UN to collect Tshombé's mining revenues and to control his exports, together with Belgium's freezing UMHK assets in Brussels. U Thant, however, is concerned with the effects renewed fighting would have on the UN finances. He feels that he needs a new mandate from the Security Council for such moves, although he is aware of the difficulties of obtaining a tougher Security Council resolution in the face of probable British and French opposition.

Tshombé, meanwhile, maintains an appearance of reasonableness: he has offered \$2,000,000 in aid for the rest of the Congo and quickly appointed the

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Katangan members of the joint commissions. At the same time, however, he is probably financing moves to undermine Adoula. He has publicly joined the attack on Foreign Minister Bomboko and has charged that Adoula no longer has the support of the Leopoldville parliament. Anti-Adoula groups from Leopoldville have been reported conferring with Katangan leaders in Elisabethville.

In Leopoldville, Adoula has tried to ward off the political attacks on his government by making another cabinet reorganization. The main attack has come from a coalition of extreme leftists led by Lumumbist Vice Premier Christophe Gbenye and "rightist" dissidents including Tshombé's Conakat deputies. The important Leopoldville Province party Abako, led by Congolese President Kasavubu, has also been antagonized by a bill which would make a federal district of Leopoldville city. Abako, normally pro-Adoula, now has joined the attack.

Preliminary reports on Adoula's reorganized cabinet state that Bomboko, a particular object of opposition assault, has been retained as foreign minister. Interior Minister Kamitatu, a former Gizengist who has become a stalwart of the Adoula regime, has also been kept on. Gbenye has been dropped, although six lesser lights of the moderate wing of his party were given posts. The anti-Tshombé Baluba tribal leader from northern Katanga, Jason Sendwe, is retained as the only vice premier.

Gizenga had been one of the three vice premiers, as had Equateur Province leader Jean Bolikango. Adoula, during his talks with Tshombé, offered to

establish a vice presidency for him and two other ministries for other Katangan leaders, but the offer was rejected. Gbenye, Bolikango, and their followers now are likely to move even closer to the Gizengists, and to the Conakat party.

Adoula has stayed in office in part because there have been no other leaders able and willing to take on the job. His opponents are clearly becoming bolder, however; they find ammunition in popular dissatisfactions over the high living of government officials in the face of unemployment and hunger among the masses. The Congo's foreign exchange reserves are again near exhaustion, and there is talk of another devaluation. The Congolese franc now is quoted in Brussels at 300 to the dollar; par is 64.

Adoula continues to have trouble in the provinces which nominally recognize his authority. Orientale, Kasai, and Kivu have been particularly troublesome, as pro- and anti-Adoula forces struggle for provincial power. In Orientale, Adoula has sought ever since the disintegration of the Gizenga regime there to establish a government more responsive to Leopoldville.

Even if the Katangan problem were miraculously solved, new difficulties thus would be likely to spring up. One of the dangers likely to face any central government is the growing demand for the creation of still more provinces--possibly as many as 18. These demands, reflecting tribal differences, are being taken up by a host of local political leaders who see themselves as future provincial presidents. The overall trend at present thus is toward greater fragmentation rather than toward unity.

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